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622 648 his two children, and begged to see the men dance, in which they willingly gratified him."(id 168)

Peace With the Aricaras. "Thursday, November 1st. At ten o'clock the chiefs of the lower village arrived. They requested that we would call at their village for some corn; that they were willing to make peace with the Ricaras; that they had never provoked the war between them, but as the Ricaras killed some of their chiefs, they had retaliated on them; that they had killed them like birds, till they were tired of killing them, so that they would send a chief and some warriors to smoke with them. In the evening we dropped down to the lower village, where Captain Lewis went on shore, and Captain Clarke proceeded to a point of wood on the **north side.**

"Friday, November 2. He therefore went up to the village, where eleven bushels of corn were presented to him. In the meantime Captain Clarke went down with the boat three miles, and having found a good position where there was plenty of timber, encamped and began to fell trees to build our huts. Our Ricara chief set out with one Mandan chief and several Minnitarees and Mandan warriors; the wind was from the southeast, and the weather being fine, crowds of Indians came down to visit us." (id 169)

●224 **Mandan Hunt.** "Monday, 5th. The Indians are all out on their hunting parties. A camp of Mandans caught within two days one hundred goats a short distance below us. Their mode of hunting them is to form a large strong pen or fold, from which a fence made of bushes gradually widens on each side. The animals are surrounded by the hunters and gently driven towards this pen, in which they imperceptibly find themselves inclosed, and are then at the mercy of the hunters." (id 170.)

231 "Thursday, 8. The morning again cloudy; our huts advanced very well, and we are visited by numbers of Indians who come to let their horses graze near us. In the day the horses are let loose in quest of grass, in the night they are collected and receive an armful of small boughs of the cottonwood, which being very juicy, soft and brittle, form nutritious and agreeable food." (id 171.)

000 **Northern Indians.** "Wednesday, 14th. The river rose last night half an inch, and is now filled with floating ice. This morning was

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of the upper region; men, women and children ascended by means of the vine; but when about half the nation had reached the surface of the earth, a corpulent woman, who was clambering up the vine, broke it with her weight, and closed upon herself and the rest of the nation the light of the sun. Those who were left on earth made a village below, where we saw the nine villages; and when the Mandans die they expect to return to the original seats of their forefathers; the good reaching the ancient village by means of the lake, which the burdens of the sins of the wicked will not enable them to cross." (id 191.)

Buffalo Chase. "Friday, December 7th. The wind still continued from the northwest, and the day is very cold. Shahaka, the chief of the lower village, came to apprise us that the buffalo were near, and that his people were waiting for us to join them in the chase. Captain Clarke with fifteen men went out and found the Indians engaged in killing the buffalo, the hunters mounted on horseback and armed with bows and arrows encircled the herd, and gradually drive them into a plain or an open place fit for the movements of horse; they then ride in among them, and singling out a buffalo, a female being preferred, go as close as possible and wound her with arrows till they think they have given the mortal stroke; then they pursue another till the quiver is exhausted. If, which rarely happens, the wounded buffalo attacks the hunter, he evades his blow by the agility of his horse, which is trained for the combat with great dexterity. When they have killed the requisite number they collect their game, and the squaws and attendants come up from the rear and skin and dress the animals. Captain Clarke killed ten buffalo, of which only five were brought to the fort, the rest, which could not be conveyed home, being seized by the Indians, among whom the custom is, that whenever a buffalo is found dead without an arrow, or any particular mark, he is the property of the finder; so that often a hunter secures scarcely any of the game he kills, if the arrow happens to fall off; whatever is left out at night falls to the share of the wolves, who are the constant and numerous attendants of the buffalo." (id 193.)

Mandan Games. "Wednesday, 19th. The weather moderated, and the river rose a little, so that we were unable to continue the picketing of the fort. Notwithstanding the extreme cold, we

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"Tuesday, January 1st, 1805. In the morning we permitted sixteen men with their music to go up to the first village, where they delighted the whole tribe with their dances, particularly with the movements of one of the Frenchmen who danced on his head. In return they presented the dancers with several buffalo robes and quantities of corn. We were desirous of showing this attention to the village, because they had received an impression that we had been wanting in regard for them, and because they had in consequence circulated invidious comparisons between us and the northern traders. All of these, however, they declared to Captain Clarke, who visited them in the course of the morning, were made in jest." (id 203.)

Buffalo Dance. "Saturday, 5th. We had high and boisterous winds last night and this morning; the Indians continue to purchase repairs with grain of different kinds. In the first village there has been a buffalo dance of the last three nights, which has put them all into commotion, and the description which we received from those of the party who visited the village, and from other sources, is not a little ludicrous. The buffalo dance is an institution originally intended for the benefit of the old men, and practiced at their suggestion. When buffalo becomes scarce, they send a man to harangue the village, declaring that the game is far off and that a feast is necessary to bring it back, and if the village be disposed, a day and a place is named for the celebration of it. At the appointed hour the old men arrive, and seat themselves cross-legged on skins around the fire in the middle of the lodge with a sort of doll or small image, dressed like a female, placed before them. The young men bring with them a platter of provisions, a pipe of tobacco, and their wives, whose dress on this occasion is only a robe or mantle loosely thrown around the body. On their arrival each youth selects the old man whom he means to distinguish by his favour, and spreads before him the provisions, after which he presents the pipe and smokes with him." (id 206.)

Hunt. "Sunday, 13th January, 1805. We have a continuation of clear weather, and the cold has increased, the mercury having sunk to 34 degrees below zero. Nearly one-half of the Mandan nation passed down the river to hunt for several days; in these excursions men, women and children, with their dogs, all leave

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the village together, and after discovering a spot convenient for the game, fix their tents; all the family bear their part in the labor, and the game is equally divided among the families of the tribe. When a single hunter returns from the chase with more than is necessary for his own immediate consumption, the neighbors are entitled by custom to a share of it; they do not however ask for it, but send a squaw, who, without saying anything, sits down by the door of the lodge till the master understands the hint, and gives her gratuitously a part for her family." (id 209.)

"Monday, 14th. The Mandans continue to pass down the river on their hunting party, and were joined by six of our men. One of those sent on Thursday returned, with information that one of his companions had his feet so badly frost bitten that he could not walk home." (id 210.)

"Wednesday, 16th. About thirty Mandans, among whom six were chiefs, came to see us; the Minnetarees reproached them with their falsehoods, declaring that they were bad men and ought to hide themselves. They had told the Minnetarees that we would kill them if they came to the fort, yet on the contrary they had spent a night there and been treated with kindness by the whites, who had smoked with them and danced for their amusement.

To the chief Kagahami, who contemplated war against the Snake Indians, this advice was given: "We advised him to reflect seriously before he committed the peace of his nation to the hazards of war: to look back on the numerous nations whom war has destroyed: that if he wished his nation to be happy, he should cultivate peace and intercourse with all his neighbors, by which means they would procure more horses, and increase in numbers; and that if he went to war, he would displease his great father, the president, and forfeit his protection. We added that we had spoken thus to all the tribes whom we had met, that they had all opened their ears, and that the president would compel those who did not voluntarily listen to his advise. Although a young man of only twenty-six years of age, this discourse seemed to strike him. He observed, that if it would be displeasing to us he would not go to war, since he had horses enough and that he would advise all nations to remain at home, until we had

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301 beads thus formed are in great demand among the Indians, and used as pendants to their ears and hair, and are sometimes worn 'round the neck." (id 233.)

•224 **Killing Buffalo On Ice.** "Friday, 29th. The weather clear, and the wind from the northwest. The obstruction above gave way this morning, and the ice came down in great quantities; the river having fallen eleven inches in the course of the last twenty-four hours. We have had few Indians at the fort for the last three or four days, as they are now busy in catching the floating buffalo. Every spring as the river is breaking up, the surrounding plains are set on fire, and the buffalo tempted to cross the river in search of the fresh grass which immediately succeeds to the burning; on their way they are often isolated on a large cake or mass of ice, which floats down the river. The Indians now select the most favorable points for attack; and, as the buffalo approaches, dart with astonishing agility across the trembling ice, sometimes pressing lightly a cake of not more than two feet square; the animal is of course unsteady, and his footsteps insecure on this new element, so that he can make but little resistance, and the hunter, who has given him his death wound, paddles his icy boat to the shore, and secures his prey." (id 239.)

532 **Indian Painting.** "Thursday, 4th. The day is clear and pleasant, though the wind is high from northwest. We now packed in different boxes a variety of articles for the president, which we shall send in the barge. A number of articles of Indian dress, among which was a buffalo robe, representing a battle fought about eight years since between the Sioux and Ricaras against the Mandans and Minnetarees, in which the combatants are represented on horseback. It has of late years excited much discussion to ascertain the period when the art of painting was first discovered, how hopeless all researches of this kind are, is evident from the foregoing fact. It is indebted for its origin to one of the strongest passions of the human heart; a wish to preserve the features of a departed friend, or the memory of some glorious exploit; this inherits equally the bosoms of all men, either civilized or savage. Such sketches, rude and imperfect as they are, delineate the predominant character of the savage nations. If they are peaceable and inoffensive, the drawings usually consist of local scenery and their favorite diversions. If the band are rude

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either of the nearest relatives or of the clan to which the lodge belonged. They believed that the lodge had a spirit which would have sent bad luck to one taking possession illegally.

The females of the lodge owned in common the domestic goods consisting of bedding, pots, household and gardening tools, the dogs, gardens, the wooden mortar and pestle, and the mares and colts. Clothing and personal effects were held individually. The men owned their weapons used in warfare and hunting as well as their own clothing and pipes. Men also owned the stallions and geldings. Sacred tribal bundles were held collectively by the man and his wives.

Lodges were built with little ceremony; the only rites were performed at the cutting of the notches for the four center posts when an old woman having the right to cut the posts was called in to sing one song and pray for the family's success. She received one robe for her services. It was the duty of the clan to assist in the erection of a member's lodge. Since these lodges were large, a considerable amount of work was entailed in erecting one and covering it with poles, willows, grass, and earth.[3] As a rule, the clan prepared a feast and invited the opposite moiety to assist, in which case the clans assisted according to the seating arrangement of the men in the Okipa or in council.

Mandan informants state that in earlier times each household had one or more game pits. These pits were dug by all the members of the household and were owned collectively. While the men would bring the poles for the cover and kill the game caught in them, the women frequently did most of the work of excavating and removing earth from the area of the pit. In recent times many households had fishtraps which are believed to have been used since introduced by Black Wolf. Fish bones, particularly catfish bones, are very abundant in the Heart River villages. The ceremonies associated with the trapping of fish, particularly the catfish, were performed by the older men, but the women assisted in weaving the walls for the trap and in sorting and cleaning the fish.

There was considerable variability in the status of household

3. For a report of the amount of materials used in the completion of an earth lodge see George F. Will, "The Mandan Lodge at Bismarck," *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 1 (October, 1930).

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The permanent name one received when returning from the first successful war expedition was received from the father's clan.

The moiety had both ceremonial and economic functions. When dividing the buffalo captured in the corral, the inclosure was symbolic of the ceremonial lodge. A line was drawn through the center of the corral extending from the midpoint of the entrance to the opposite side. Those animals falling to the left of the entrance belonged to the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while those of the opposite side belonged to the other moiety. Women of a moiety butchered on their side without regard to clan. Each moiety constructed its half of the ceremonial lodge and would also erect an earth lodge used as a residence when the clan of the owner of the new lodge assisted in putting up goods for the assistance rendered by the opposite moiety. It was believed that the moiety regulated marriage prior to the last smallpox epidemic, but a study of lineages indicated that it had little influence over marriages after 1837. There was a feeling that in former times traditional eagle-trapping sites were divided into moieties, each moiety trapping on its side of the Missouri River. If such division existed, all evidences had disappeared before 1870. There was considerable competition between moieties. When one moiety had more successful war leaders than the other, its members would tease the others and question their bravery. Sons of men of the same moiety teased each other a great deal. Each moiety had a leader who assisted in the division of the buffalo taken in a corral.

VILLAGE AND TRIBAL LEADERSHIP

Mandan village and tribal leadership was vested in the hierarchy of bundle-owners or priests who constituted a group of head men whose number varied from time to time depending on the status of the various bundles. From this group two leaders were selected whose war or peacemaking record exceeded that of all others or who, because of other practices, had acquired considerable popularity with the people. The one whose record in warfare was greatest was selected in council to be war chief. A second chief selected was one who had important ceremonial bundles, had given many feasts, and had performed many rites for the general welfare of the village. These were considered the

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554 785 received goods in abundance from people of the village, particularly persons of his children's clan.

554 785 789 Since the Mandan lived in a territory of uncertain rainfall, the crops were frequently endangered by drought. There were formal rainmaking ceremonies, but these frequently failed to bring rain. A man would frequently announce that he was fasting on a certain day to bring the rains. If rains came before the fasting began, he received credit for them and was paid generously for his services. When the rains had not come on the day when fasting was to begin, he would go to some designated spot to fast, singing his holy songs while watching the sky for the approaching clouds, which he would endeavor to direct toward the gardens. Anyone could fast to bring rains to the gardens or buffaloes near the village, but in general these extra rites were performed by persons lacking formal tribal bundles and were people who felt that they had not received proper recognition for their successes in warfare, horse-stealing, or in finding the buffalo herds. They had little to lose; failing to bring buffaloes or rain, they were thought none the less of for their failure and were praised if they succeeded.

785 There was a certain amount of fasting when bad luck persisted. When on eagle-trapping expeditions, some men would catch eagles while others did not. One who had been especially lucky would volunteer the use of his pit to one who had failed to catch birds. If the latter's bad luck persisted, he would fast and even have thongs inserted through his skin for dragging buffalo skulls.

224 554 788 There was a certain degree of specialization of males in a Mandan village. Those who had acquired an aptitude of finding the buffalo herds were relied upon for their good judgment in supervising the summer buffalo-hunting expeditions. Even those who eventually attained the status of leader were expected to attain that position by degrees. He was first taken out as scout to assist in locating the herds and later as leader of the hunters when he was expected to perform simple rites immediately before the attack was made on the herd. He would pray to the buffaloes not to send the party bad luck, and, when the surround had been made, he would make an offering of sage and feathers from the speckled eagle to the buffaloes by tying

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the offerings to the horns of some weathered buffalo skull found conveniently near by. If a horse fell into a washout, stepped into a badger hole and injured its rider, or was gored by a buffalo, the leader was said to have "kicked the stone" and was usually never selected again unless he fasted sufficiently to receive the forgiveness of the aggrieved parties.

As leader of the hunters, he was expected to make successful surrounds without losing his men from accident. Having been successful on many surrounds, it was believed that he was lucky and had sacred objects that were protecting him and his party. He was then eligible to become the leader of a future summer buffalo-hunting party.

A man's responsibilities increased greatly as the leader of the summer buffalo-hunting party. His selection was made in council held a month before the village was to leave for the summer hunt. The principal men of the village met to consider the matter of a leader. Crows Heart claimed that all who had been lucky in warfare or in leading the hunters aspired to be the summer buffalo-hunt leader at least once in their lifetime. The leader was selected from those who had buffalo skulls as a part of their sacred bundles. These skulls became a part of bundles either through purchase of a hereditary bundle or, more rarely, were introduced into a bundle when vision instructed. It was necessary to have unanimous consent of the head men to become leader, and the appointment was for only one expedition away from the village. A change was usually made for subsequent hunts on the former leader's recommendation, as it was believed that one would have bad luck if he led too many hunts. When a selection had been made, the crier for the Black Mouth Society[1] went through the village announcing the decision.

The leader consulted the village chief in matters relative to preparation of the equipment and the leaders of war parties relative to the protection of the party which would comprise the entire population except a few feeble people who preferred to visit in a neighboring village while the party was away. The women first weeded and hilled their garden crops while the men prepared the dog and horse equipment. While preparations for the summer hunt were being completed, scouts were sent

[1] [The men's society intrusted with the organization and protection of the village. See pp. 94-95, Cat. 116.—Analyst]

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224 out daily to travel as much as one hundred and fifty miles from the village to observe the numbers and movements of the buffalo. Returning war leaders were called in to report the number and size of the herds they had observed. The leader planned the hunt on the basis of the knowledge he had acquired from several sources and designated the spots where the party would camp each night. This information together with the time of departure from the village was given to the Black Mouth Society, which sent its announcer through the village to notify the people.

221 241 796 The summer buffalo hunt was scheduled as a permanent part of the summer's activities and did not interfere with the normal village routine. The gardens were prepared and planted in May, and the first performance of the Okipa was celebrated just prior to leaving for the summer hunt. Since one of the purposes of the Okipa was to have the Buffalo Dance performed, it was believed that it should be held prior to the summer hunt. Ceremonies to the buffalo were believed to insure a good hunt and the replenishment of their numbers by the escape of the buffalo spirits from the spirit homes in which they lived before being born into the herds. The leader was not authorized to call an unscheduled hunt.

224 561 Crows Heart believed that all the leaders selected in his time belonged to the Black Mouth or Bull men's societies, since these were the two oldest active societies, but felt that membership was not obligatory, since in former times there were so many people that all did not belong, especially those who were too busy with other ceremonial matters. The leader never undertook to direct the hunt unassisted. He invited in all those with the right to pray to the buffalo to meet at his lodge and assist him. These would be the officers of the Okipa and Red Stick ceremonies, Okipa Makers, and all those who had buffalo skulls in their bundles whether acquired by vision or purchase. He discussed his plans with them and changed them if any offered a reasonable objection. The hunt was frequently canceled when war leaders reported unusual numbers of enemies about.

224 In early times dogs were used, but, after horses were acquired, the summer hunts of later times were out much farther. The leader was always to the front, and the party followed behind

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in a line. Household groups kept together, since they would stop from time to time to dig wild turnips. Whenever the leader saw these plants in great numbers, he would ask his assistant, the announcer of the Black Mouths, to stop the party. All would dig except the scouts, who were ahead guarding the party against surprise by the enemy or hunting for fresh meat, and the Black Mouths, who were mounted and armed to protect the party against attack. The latter watched for stragglers and helped them to join the main party.

The leader selected the camping place which had been agreed upon in advance, and the Black Mouths enforced the regulations that the lodges be arranged in a circle at a certain distance from each other and compelled those whose lodges were out of place to take them down and set them up in such a way that the circle was complete except for a larger entrance at the side of the leader's lodge where the horses could be brought through to be corraled within the open circle. The leader's household was at the front of the line when traveling and was the first to set up a tepee; the back end of the line which was assembled by household groups swung around in a wide circle so that the last in the line set up their tepee at the side of the leader's tepee, thus completing the circle. Ropes were tied between the tepees forming a corral into which the horses were driven for the night.

The leader's tepee was used as a meeting place for the people assisting him in planning the hunt. They selected the scouts each day and relieved others who had ridden far; when the party had reached its destination, they also selected the leader of the hunters who was changed from day to day if the work of killing animals was tedious as was often the case when the buffaloes were in small bands. The leader was responsible for the success of the entire party and was expected to call in the hunters if scouts reported an enemy encampment until it was decided whether to move to another place or make provisions for the defense of the party. The Black Mouths drove all the women and children into the camp and enforced rigid rules against leaving.

The men butchered the animals and brought the meat to the camp, while the women cut it into strips and dried it on scaffolds. All were expected to get equal amounts, and a woman

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could go to the pile brought in by anyone if her husband was slow in returning with his meat. There was no moiety division of the animals as was employed with the corral. Everyone was expected to work curing the meat, men and women alike. Older men would haul poles for scaffolds and set them up. Some husbands would be out as scouts and could not butcher. Crows Heart had been on a number of summer hunts and said that he never made a special effort to help his lodge group. As soon as he unloaded his meat, it was taken by anyone who was ready to cure it. Scattercorn said that one did not ask permission to take a hunter's meat and that one was more likely to be criticized for not working hard enough than for appearing selfish. All my informants were in agreement that quarrels over division of the meat and hides were unknown.

The leader and the leader of the hunters were entitled to the tongues, but these were shared with others having the buffalo as a god, while some tongues were given to old people. The evenings were spent in dancing and singing.

There was a marked increase of fasting during the summer hunts. Many thought that they secured better visions when fasting away from the village. Others thought that it would be highly desirable to fast far from the village to get visions from supernatural beings that might not come to the villages to "adopt a son." The older men taught that the young buffaloes lived in certain buttes and that fasting while out on the summer buffalo range would increase the next year's calf crop. To perpetuate the buffalo supply, they made offerings of speckled eagle feathers and calicoes to these buttes and encouraged the young men to fast near them. The leader would receive many valuable presents from young men seeking visions at that time while praying for their success when the thongs were being inserted through the skin. Dragging heads of recently killed buffaloes through the camp was a customary practice. Crows Heart thought that most young men who had recently fasted in the Okipa ceremony and had not received visions would repeat their vision quest at that time. The hunt would be terminated in time to reach the village before the corn was in the milk stage. Usually a second performance of the Okipa was held a short time after returning.

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man who drew his gun when being driven back and was killed by the Black Mouths. Usually it was the duty of one's brothers to revenge a sibling's death, but in this instance siblings took no action. The Black Mouths were believed to be the bravest men of the village. Before making an attack on the enemy, their leaders would stick their lances into the ground which meant that they would not retreat. When on the summer buffalo hunts they received their orders from the leader and were instructed to prevent premature hunting and to see that the party did not break up. Although they endeavored to prevent war parties from leaving the village when there was danger of attack, they inflicted no punishment when an unauthorized war party returned.

It was believed that an individual's influence with sacred things advanced in age. They were consulted on sacred matters and were offered their "sons' " wives frequently during the buffalo ceremonies. Men and women assisted in the disposal of the dead. It was a man's duty to assist a clan sister in the construction of the scaffold for one whose father was of their clan, to superintend the painting and wrapping of the body.

OLD AGE AND DEATH

The old people were respected members of the household. The grandfather would assist the youngsters of the lodge in making toys and in playing their simple games, but he was always held in high regard as the one from whom the child's father had acquired much of his training in sacred matters. Having more time to give to the instruction of the children of the lodge, he would assist them in learning stories if the children were interested in hearing them. The older women assisted the younger women about the lodge and in the gardens but were not expected to do much work.

The older women were organized into two age-grade societies which were sacred in character. Women of advanced middle age joined the Goose Society and, when they had reached the menopause, sold to younger women and bought into the White Buffalo Cow Society.[3] As members of these societies they were respected for their supernatural powers over agriculture and

3. See the chapters on ceremonialism for an account of their origin.

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888 561 562 hunting. Women holding rights in the various Holy Women bundles also met whenever a medicine feast was given. Their rights were individually acquired by assisting their husbands or brothers in the bundle purchase. Some of their number were members of the Goose or the White Buffalo Cow societies.

888 562 The older people performed an important role in the ceremonies so long as they were not too feeble to get around. Women who had assisted others at childbirth became doctors after the menopause and could substitute for a man in a great many of the societies. In many ceremonies they were the medium through which the traditions and bundles were transmitted to a legitimate male heir.

888 785 755 Fasting was generally completed by the time one reached fifty years of age. In case of repeated bad luck or failure to attain a definite goal, fasting for short periods was practiced during a ceremony. When an epidemic of sore eyes broke out at Fishhook Village, one old woman fasted to seek relief from her affliction. Since her eye trouble was cleared up shortly afterward, quite a number of middle-aged and old people fasted to cure the ailment. Calf Woman said that more than half of them got relief.

888 431 787 People who were past middle age and who had been relatively successful all their lives would frequently have bad dreams in which they were being killed and cut up by the enemy or were drowning. It was believed that one could forestall this misfortune by giving away all his property. He would call in those who had been successful and were owners of important tribal bundles to give away his property, consisting of robes and bedding, household utensils, dogs, and horses, until the family was utterly destitute. One doing this would walk through the village repeating the dream. When the bad dream failed to materialize within the designated time, such people were said to be holy and as such were called the "protectors of the village." In appreciation of their sacrifices, each household group was expected to contribute something toward their comfort.

888 421 324 The old people had privately owned game pits and were entitled to the animals found in them. According to tradition, before horses were acquired, pits were widely used and owned by households. Ruins of game pits are still to be seen in consider-

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able numbers along the Heart River and in the vicinity of Square Butte Creek. With the introduction of the horse they were less commonly used, although the practice was not entirely abandoned until after 1870. Buffalo, deer, elk, and wolves were captured in them. Older men also managed the fish traps, of which there were a number for each village. An account of fish-trapping is given in chapter viii, "Catfish-trapping Ceremony," which appears in this account of ceremonialism.

The old people were generally well cared for by the Mandan. They were held in high respect, and my informants frequently condemned neighboring tribes for abandoning their old people. On the other hand, Mandan old people frequently were left back when the village went on a buffalo hunt and refused to have others remain with them, claiming that they would get along and that, if the enemy came and killed them, it was all right, as one could not live forever. Usually a few families remained in the village to care for the old people who were too feeble to travel.

The Mandan traditions state that, when people were first created and placed on the earth, Lone Man decreed that they should not live to be older than one hundred years and that some would die at various ages from birth to old age. It was believed that people died from improper fasting, violation of tribal custom, disrespect of holy things, quarreling, foreign objects in the body, and loss of "power." It was also believed that those who neglected the unfortunate would not live long, since the sacred things frequently sent destitute people into the tribe to detect the selfish families. The sun was believed to be a cannibal who would adopt a "son" in an enemy tribe, subsequently giving a Mandan a dream instruction to go out on the warfare where he would be killed.

The Mandan believed that a person had four souls. One was the white spirit, which was often seen traveling through the air as a shooting star. It was regarded as the principal spirit and was represented by the white upland sage. The second spirit was light brown and scarcely visible and was represented by the meadow lark. These two spirits united in the spirit world and became the individual of the hereafter. The third spirit was known as the lodge spirit and remained near the lodge of which

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223 their intentions of trapping at certain localities and called for volunteers. The bundle-owner was leader, and his authority began as soon as the party left the village. Announcement that they would be trapping at a specified site was made in the village as soon as a party was organized, in order that hunting parties or other eagle-trapping parties would know their whereabouts.

Trapping parties left for the trapping sites when the leaves began to change color in the fall. In the party would be the leader and his trappers, together with their wives and children. It [224] being customary to hunt game for the winter's needs when the winds were not from a westerly direction, the women were taken along to cure the meat and prepare the hides.

223 346 Two types of lodges were used in connection with eagle-trapping. According to tradition, when Black Wolf visited the bears, he found them using a grass lodge consisting of a sweat-lodge frame covered with grass mats. When this lodge was used, the rigid rules associated with eagle-trapping were dispensed with. The bears had said, "When you use the grass lodge, there will be no rules." Any suitable location for the lodge could be agreed upon where it would be centrally located in relation to the pits. Neither were there rules governing the excavation of pits nor the appropriation of old ones. Each trapped where he chose, killed the birds, and secured the feathers. This type lodge was rarely used except when trapping in new territory under circumstances such that it was considered unlikely that the party would ever return there again to trap.

223 346 778 The second type lodge was known as the wood lodge. There were two variants of this type. When it was planned to return to the locality again, it was constructed on a four-post standard, each post having a fork at the top on which poles were suspended forming a square. The sides of the lodge were built by leaning poles against this standard to form a roughly conical structure. Bark and earth were banked around the outer edge of the lodge to a height of three feet for warmth and protection from attack. This was the preferred type lodge. With it went ownership of the adjacent pits and hunting territory. It was the residence of the males and was owned by the leader who had directed its construction. When used in connection with eagle-trap-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Mandan and Hidatsa informants was that women took a more prominent place in Mandan than in Hidatsa ceremonies and that bringing women into the lodges was a Mandan rite that some Hidatsa bought. This native belief is borne out by a woman's right to perform the Okipa ceremony with her brother's assistance and to own bundles of deceased relatives until a successor had qualified.

In the selection of eagle-trapping territory, consideration was given to the suitability of the region for hunting. Some informants thought that not more than one-third of the days were suitable for catching eagles. When the winds were not from a westerly direction, the party went out hunting and received their orders from the Chief of the Hunters, whose place in the ceremonial lodge was near the head of the lodge on the left side and opposite the leader.

The office of Chief of the Hunters was filled by the leader when selecting the places for the men when first entering the lodge. In mythological times, Two Men[40] discovered Black Bear's cub carrying a clay pot in which he cooked his food mysteriously, and, resolving to live leisurely thereafter, they stole the vessel. The cub chased them into Dog Den Butte and captured them with his snare. Cub contemplated killing them, but they agreed to do the hunting[41] for the eagle-trappers if their lives were spared. In time they acquired the position of leaders of the hunters.

The eagle-trapping territory was distantly removed from the summer villages in a region not occupied permanently by any tribe.[42] Except for sites on the east side of the Missouri River, the territory was deeply eroded with isolated wooded areas along, and adjacent to, the principal streams. The badlands region along the Little Missouri River and its tributaries was a favorite habitat of the elk, black-tail deer, and mountain sheep. White-tail deer remained more or less in the wooded bottom lands of streams, while buffalo and antelope ranged in herds and bands on the high grass plains a few miles from the principal streams.

40. See my manuscript on "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization" for an account of the exploits of these two characters.

41. Their medicine was the arrow.

42. See map of eagle-trapping camps (Fig. 28).

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Eagle-trapping expeditions were organized for a dual purpose, namely, the securing of feathers and of a winter's supply of meat and hides. Crows Heart thought that, taken year after year, the meat and hides secured had greater worth than the feathers. As he explained, it was not unusual to return without feathers, but game was always abundant once one reached territory not ordinarily hunted in. He remarked, on many occasions, that a village as a unit would never go to rough country on a summer hunt, as there would be few buffaloes there, and it would be difficult to surround them because of the uneven topography. There was the further danger of ambush. The rough lands were hunted over by small bands, chiefly eagle-trappers and war parties.

The appearance of ice on the edges of streams was the signal for the eagle-trapping expedition to return to the village. Before horses became numerous in the villages, it was customary to travel overland to the trapping sites, where bullboats were made of buffalo and elk hides for floating back the meat and hides to the village. In order not to be caught along the way by a sudden freezing of the river, it was imperative that trapping cease immediately with the first appearance of cold weather.

While in the trapping camp, the women received the meat and hides brought in by the men. The meat was cured on scaffolds, and the hides were dried or made into bullboats. Special effort was made to secure mountain sheep, as the badlands were the habitat of these prized animals, used for men's shirts and women's dresses, since their skins tanned softer than any other hide. Bears Arm, in explaining the importance of the meat and hides secured on these expeditions, stated that single women tried to marry young men so they could go along to help cure the meat and hides, knowing they might marry one so lucky as to kill a white buffalo.

Mandan tradition appears devoid of reference to recent division of a village population into small eagle-trapping bands during the winter. Such is not the case with the Hidatsa, however. In the Earthnaming ceremony of the Hidatsa there is reference in the myth to the division of the village into small bands camped along the Little Missouri River in eagle-trapping lodges during the winter. At least two of the clans, the Maxoxati and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Wolf as payment for his services to these birds in the sacred myth. According to tradition, only those who had purchased the right made arrows. Arrowmaking techniques were taught by certain bundle-owners. It is highly improbable that any living informant at the time this study was made was able to enumerate all bundles with arrowmaking rights. At least the following, which is no doubt only a partial list, had arrowmaking rights: Eagle-trapping; Big Bird; Snow Owl; and Woman Above bundles. All of these bundles were associated with birds of prey.

The belief was that certain men were arrowmakers in early times and that those in need of arrows bought their supply. People without the rights were not allowed to stand around when arrows were being made. Incidentally, pottery-making was also a secret art, and the women bought the rights and knowledge in the techniques of their mothers or clanswomen, using only such designs as they were instructed to make. There was a song to the arrows and another when approaching the thicket where the shafts were secured. The stone tips were believed to have been first secured from the beavers.

The buffalo-calling rites were performed during the winter and were initiated by a young man dreaming of the buffaloes. Woman Living in Dog Den Butte (Buffalo Woman) had said in the myth, "In the future, when any Indian thinks of me, he must make offerings to me and give his wife to the one who is head of this medicine."

The three officers in the ceremony were (1) the bundle-owner and his wives, who sat to the left side near the head of the lodge and were the singers; (2) a woman impersonating Woman Living in Dog Den Butte, who wore a buffalo robe with hair side out and had sage and magpie tail feathers in her hair, her place being at the head of the lodge; and (3) a man impersonating the brothers who lived in Dog Den Butte; he had red marks painted on his skin indicating the kinds of wounds a man could receive in battle, and his place was on the right side of the lodge near the door.

The Okipa lodge was used for the ceremony. After a young man had made the vow, robes and other goods were accumulated for the ceremony. A man received help from his wife, brothers, sisters, clan brothers and sisters, and the people of both his

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

I ought to go back, so I came away. In that trapping, I understood that there were some rules that were somewhat different. If a trapper coming home from his pit stumbles and falls, when he comes back into the lodge, he has to tell it; when he does so, a new name was given him for the time of the trapping. He also changed all their names during the time of trapping and gave them names about bears or eagles. He sold his rights to Stephen Bird, who is still living.

When everything was completed, the leader burned incense and offered smoke to the buffalo skull and offered sacrifices of calicoes to the skull. That is what we called "Blessing the Lodge." Then we went to our pits. Sitting Owl caught two white tails with black tips. In the evening we went into the lodge. The leader produced a piece of corn ball and called the Crack Shot, who, instead of crawling on his elbow and knees, stooped over and walked to the leader. He received the corn ball, and the leader said, "The Footbone is giving you this corn ball."

The Crack Shot took it and tasted it, saying "Footbone, the bottom of your foot is delicious and sweet." Each one when he came up to the leader in turn said the same thing. Each person had a piece of corn ball in front of him, and the tail feathers of the eagles were given to Crack Shot. He received them and touched the corn ball with them and passed them around until the feathers reached the leader again.

When the leader received the feathers, he again got up and went over to the buffalo skull, saying, "Old Man with Ears Backwards,[9] here are your tail feathers, but they are not yours. Your children wish you to keep these feathers."

Then the waiter went out and called, asking the women to come over to the lodge. All the women came over and sat down close to the entrance. The leader painted himself with red paint on his forehead, cheeks, hands, wrists, and the top of his head. He had a feather back of his head. He represented the Old Black Bear. His rattles were the bear's feet tied together with a long string. When the women came in, the leader and those who were sitting with him sang. The women sang with the men, and Iron Eyes'[10] wife had a little bear's skin on her lap. It was the bear that had been at the altar. When the women came in, the leader gave it to her to lay on her lap and make it dance. Each one of us took our snares from the little sticks on the altar, opened up the loops, and swung them up and down in time with the leader, who was singing a special song. The women sang, and the woman with the bear's skin made it dance in time with the music. We all enjoyed ourselves singing. At the end of each song, we would hold our cords up and pretend to be roping something.

Then this practice was also different from the others I was out with. Any one of the men could make a game trap by setting up posts with braces as a deadfall. The one who finds a red fox or coyote in the trap takes it out, throwing it to one side, and then takes the skin off for the altar. In case there is a boy old enough in camp, he can go out, take the animal, and bring it in. We had one boy along, but he was too young, so they did not have the trap set. They just sang the song that went with it. When the ceremony was going on, there was one song that we danced to when it came up. There was also a spe-

9. Ceremonial name for the buffalo.

10. He owned a complete Mandan Eagle-trapping bundle.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

cial song for the waiter in which he danced alone. The leader's waiter on his side was the main waiter, and the other was an assistant. If the main waiter was absent, the assistant did the work. In the evening the women would bring wood into the camp for the sweathouse.

When the wind was in the right direction, we went into the pits. That is what we called the good wind. When the wind is from the southwest or northwest, it was considered good to fair wind, but the west was considered the best. The waiter was the first one to be up and around. He would go out and look at the flag. When he saw that the wind was from the right direction, he would say, "The wind is in the right direction." The men would all get out of bed and go to their pits.

The leader would say, "I will help the waiter if he wants to go into his pit. I will stay and do his work."

When the waiter went out to see the flag and the wind was blowing from the other directions, he would come back and report it to the leader by saying, "Leader, the wind is in the wrong direction."

The leader would say to the men, "When you are through eating, go out and hunt." There was a term that they used. Instead of saying morning meal, he would say, "After you are through sitting on it," meaning that the eagle sits on the bait. That was why he used that term. He would use the words, "Go out and throw stones at animals," meaning to hunt game. When the wind was right, we went to our pits. Raven Knows Nothing caught three good eagles with black tips; then we had another meeting the same as before. The women would come, and we would have a good time. The leader would have the men come to him for their corn balls again.

Another time we went to our pits and Packs Wolf caught two with black tips, and then the leader, himself, caught two. They were black tipped also. Those were all the birds caught.

The night after the catch was made, I asked the Crack Shot (Sitting Owl, Maxoxati clan) to fill up the pipe; he did so and gave it to me. I took the pipe and gave it to the leader, saying, "My leader, take this pipe, for I wish to suffer." He was glad. Beforehand, I had prepared my sticks. I made three of them. The Crack Shot and his helper took me outside close to the lodge by a tree and there they cut my breast on both sides and on the top of my right arm. They fastened the rawhide rope to the sticks, and then I ran around the tree while the ceremony and singing was going on inside the lodge. After all the songs were sung, the same men who tortured me came out and took the rawhide rope off and pulled the sticks out. The sticks were taken in and placed on the altar. Several days after that, Charging was tortured. When I suffered, I had my medicine bundle, the Bear Medicine, that I got from my father, hanging on my right arm. When I suffered, it was like a prayer asking the great spirits to help me to live long in the world, be fortunate in everything I undertook, and have property. I prayed to Black Medicine because Spring Boy and Lodge Boy said that they would turn into that root[11] but that their spirits would go back into the skies and help the people. That was why I prayed to them. The idea of fasting and offering myself this way was so that I might be blessed by the spirits. Then in war I would come out victorious and defeat the enemy.

11. A piece of this root is tied to each snare.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 796 of you; it is an A-ci-ra'-wi'-a," meaning really a bear woman, for the origin was from the bears.

224 462 In early days when young men went out this way, the single girls would marry some of them before they left and then go out there. The women would prepare the meat from the mountain sheep and work on the hides while the men trapped. To secure these fine hides, women would marry a single man in order to get a chance to go out there.

223 796 The pits being dug, early the next morning we got up without having any breakfast and went to our pits. Some of the pits were old ones, but several new ones were made. Sometimes there would be two pits together, and then they would fix the last pit up and go into it. For their baits some had blood stored away while others had jackrabbits. Others had a hide fixed up so that it looked like some animal. Water was mixed with the dry blood and put on the bait. In the evening each man came out, and those who did not catch anything came home quietly, while those who had caught eagles would come in crying. When they heard someone come crying, the waiter would burn incense as the man with the eagle came into camp.

Eagle-trapping is called "Tied," when persons catching eagles are to kill them in the pit before bringing them to the lodge. The first man who came in that day was Little Bull. He had two birds with black tips. White Body was burning the incense. In case both the waiters were away, the leader would burn the incense himself. The next man who came in was Holding Eagle, and he had two birds with black tips. Black Bear caught two also. The saying is that, where you catch two eagles, they are a brother and a sister, for they travel together. These birds were all killed in the pit. The birds were brought in and placed at the head of the lodge in a row. The tails were brought in and placed on the buffalo head, each man keeping track of his own feathers.

223 777 The next day my brother, Little Bull, took me along, and we went into his pit. He caught four that day, and, when the fifth had landed on the bait, he told me to catch it by the feet, which I did. He helped me pull the bird down into the pit. He took me along to show me how to catch the birds. The next time he went out he caught three more, which made ten in all that he had caught. Three warbonnets could be made of them, and he had one tail extra. The leader said to him, "That is enough; you must not go out any more, or you will have bad luck." After that Little Bull did not go out any more.

223 The second time Holding Eagle went out he caught three, and the third time he caught two, so that he had seven. Black Bear caught two the first time, three the second time, and two the third time, making seven for him. Lance Owner did not have any luck in his pit, so he was advised to go into Little Bull's pit, where he caught two. Little Crow did not catch anything in his pit, so he was also told to go into Little Bull's pit, and he caught two there. Sitting Woman caught three; White Body did not catch any. Wolfs Eyes and his helper did not trap.

223 796 All these birds were killed in the pit, each trapper having a Baby Stone in his hole. While facing east, they broke the birds' necks, and in that way the spirits of the birds would return to their spirit home down the river.

There are two ways of trapping eagles. This time we followed the ceremony called "Tied" which originated with the black bear. The other way was the real eagle-trapping and in that ceremony they had ways that were different from the ceremony Wolfs Eyes used. In the other ceremony if a trapper fell down and tells the leader about it, his named is changed. This time we did

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Maximilian[1] also gives a description of the pottery;—"They make pots of different shapes and sizes. The clay is slate-colored and turns a yellowish red in the fire. It is mixed with powdered granite which has been burnt. A large round stone is stuck into the clay which is prevented from spreading sideways. It is polished with a piece of poplar bark. When shaped, it is filled with dry chips, and also surrounded by them on the outside, then burned. They use no enamel on the pots." This pottery has not been made for a number of years, and there are only a few whole samples of the cruder sort in collections.

AGRICULTURE:—The Mandans were, above all, an agricultural people, far more so than any of their neighbors. They have a tradition of having taught the Hidatsa how to cultivate the soil, and even the Arikara, who are said by some to have taught the Mandans, were somewhat inferior to the latter in the pursuit of agriculture. The Mandans were dependent on the soil for nearly all of their food, according to Verendrye, in 1738. By the time Lewis and Clarke came, however, they were about on the dividing line between being a hunting and an agricultural nation. They were not the hunters that their neighbors the Hidatsa were, because they were too weak in numbers to venture on long hunting trips. The agricultural ceremonies and dances shared honor with those of hunting, and the Old Woman Who Never Dies, or the Corn Mother, was an important personage in the ceremonial life of the people.

The land about the Mandan villages, smooth river bottoms and very fertile, was always extremely easy to work, and required but the crudest implements. Consequently the cultivation was fairly extensive. Maximilian says that each family cultivated three fields of four or five acres each, which were never fenced. The farms were shifted to a new place when the old area began to yield smaller crops. There seems to have been no attempt at fertilization, and it was hardly necessary in view of the great abundance of good land. Henry[2] gives an animated picture of the Mandan farming operations:

"We passed extensive fields of corn, beans, squashes and

[1] Op. cit., p. 386. [2] Op. cit., vol. I, pp. 343 et seq.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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249 276 fine. It was usually smoked mixed with the bark of the so-called red-willow or Cornus. Henry says that the blossoms were used, and were dried on a piece of pottery before the fire. Lewis and Clarke and Gass both mention this tobacco and agree with Verendrye that it was not good to those who were accustomed to European tobacco. The Mandans themselves soon discarded their own variety, raising only a little each year to use in ceremonials.

222 Although hardly coming under agriculture, still as a related matter, it might be well to mention the wild vegetables and fruits which were so much used by the Indians of the region. These were june-berries, choke-cherries, wild plums, the feverole, and especially the pomme blanche or Indian turnip. The latter were something like artichokes, white, ovate, one to three inches long, and about the size of a man's finger. They were collected in large quantities and formed a very common food.

● 224 HUNTING AND FISHING:—The Mandans derived a living from agriculture and the hunt in about equal proportions. Their methods of hunting differed little from those of their neighbors. Game was in abundance and many animals besides the buffalo contributed to their sustenance. Among these were antelope, elk, deer, bighorn, and an occasional bear, besides beaver, rabbits, ducks and geese. Other animals were killed for their hides alone, as wolves, foxes, ermine and panther. Eagles and other birds of prey were hunted for their plumes.

Buffalo were hunted all the year round whenever they were in the neighborhood of the village, for the Mandans did not go away on long hunting trips as did most of their neighbors. The buffalo hunt was directed by the Soldier Band. A small detached body of buffalo would be surrounded by the horsemen and then every animal killed in order to prevent the alarming of the whole herd. Any animal which did not contain an arrow by which the slayer could be identified, belonged to whoever found it. The beasts were cut up, and each man's horse was laden down with meat. Certain choice parts were eaten immediately by the hunter, and the heart and tongue could be demanded from anyone of a lower grade than he who asked for them. The childless old men and women usually

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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met the returning hunters at a short distance from the village, and the hunters dropped portions of the meat for them.

When the Missouri broke up in the spring large numbers of buffalo were drowned and floated down the river. The Mandans usually caught large quantities of these as they floated by, and esteemed them as better than the fresh meat. Henry says that meat was nearly always hung up till partially decayed, after which it was better liked. The intestines of the buffalo were considered a good food and were always eaten. The Mandans made pemmican, as did all of the plains tribes, grinding up the dried meat and packing it in parfleches, after which buffalo fat was poured in.

Probably the antelope were next in importance to the buffalo. These were caught in large bands by means of what were called parks. At the head of a coulée an enclosure of branches was made with a narrow opening from which two fences of branches led away in the shape of a funnel, extending for a mile or often more. The Indians, on horseback, by surrounding a band of antelopes could gradually work them towards this enclosure, through the gate of which they were at last forced to go. The entrance was then guarded and the hunters knocked the animals on the head with the stone war clubs; a hundred or more at a time were often killed in this fashion.

Wolves and foxes were trapped in pitfalls which were dug to a depth of eight or ten feet, covered with branches and baited with pieces of buffalo meat. Beaver and other small fur-bearing animals were caught in traps. Bears were killed only occasionally as the Indians did not like to attack them. Cat-fish and sturgeon, as well as smaller fish and turtles were caught along the river, where unios and snails were also gathered.

The larger birds were caught in a rather peculiar fashion. The hunters usually went to the Bad Lands to hunt them. There a pit was dug in some likely place. Bait of small pieces of meat was scattered about, after which the hunter concealed himself in the pit, dragging over the top a covering of branches with bait upon them. Then he waited patiently, often for a day or more till a bird should alight on the branches; as soon as this happened the bird was grasped and pulled down into

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The Mandans are hospitable, and often invite their acquaintance to come and see them. Their pipes are made of the red-stone, or of black clay. They obtain the red pipe-heads chiefly from the Sioux; sometimes they have wooden heads lined with stone; the tube is plain, long, round or flat, on the whole, of the same shape as among the Sioux, but they are not so fastidious about ornamenting their pipes as other tribes. They smoke the leaves of the tobacco plant, which is cultivated by them; the bark of the red willow *(Cornus sericea)*, which they obtain from the traders, is sometimes mixed with the tobacco, or the latter with the leaves of the bearberry *(Arbutus uva ursi)*. The tobacco of the Whites, unmixed, is too strong for the Indians, because they draw the smoke into their lungs; hence they do not willingly smoke cigars.

The meals of the Mandans are served in wooden dishes. The spoons are generally large and deep; they are made of the horn of the bighorn (see woodcut, p. 251); sometimes they are yellow, or else they are shallow, made of black buffalo's horn. They have a considerable variety of dishes. The Indians residing in permanent villages have the advantage of the roving hunting tribes, in that they not only hunt, but derive their chief subsistence from their plantations, which afford them a degree of security against distress. It is true these Indians sometimes suffer hunger when the buffalo herds keep at a great distance, and their crops fail; but the distress can never be so great among the Missouri Indians, as in the tribes that live further northwards. The plants which they cultivate are maize, beans, French beans, gourds, sunflowers, and tobacco *(Nicotiana quadrivalvis)*, of which I brought home some seeds, which have flowered in several botanic gardens.

Of maize there are several varieties of colour, to which they give different names. The several varieties are:—1. White maize. 2. Yellow maize. 3. Red maize. 4. Spotted maize. 5. Black maize. 6. Sweet maize. 7. Very hard yellow maize. 8. White, or red-striped maize. 9. Very tender yellow maize.*

The beans are likewise of various sorts—small white beans, black, red, and spotted beans. The gourds are—yellow, black; striped, blue, long, and thick-shelled gourds.

The sunflower is a large helianthus, which seems perfectly to resemble that cultivated in our gardens. It is planted in rows between the maize. There are two or three varieties, with red, and black, and one with smaller seeds. Very nice cakes are made of these seeds. The tobacco

* I brought to Europe specimens of the several kinds of maize grown among the Mandans; these have been sown, but only the early species were ripe in September, 1835. The heads have by no means attained the same size, on the Rhine, as in their native country. There the plant attains a height of five or six feet, and the colours of the grains are very various, bright and beautiful: while, on the Rhine, the plant grew to the height of four or four and a half feet. The later sorts grew to the height of ten feet, and were not quite ripe at the end of October. (See Bradbury, page 145, for an account of the maize of the Mandans.)

According to Tanner (page 180), an Ottawa Indian first introduced the cultivation of maize on the Red River, among the Ojibuas, or Chippeways.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

cultivated by the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras, attains a great height, and is suffered to grow up from the seeds, without having any care whatever bestowed upon it. It is not transplanted. When it is ripe the stalks are cut, dried, and powdered; or the leaves, with the small branches, are cut into little pieces. The taste and smell are disagreeable to an European, resembling camomile rather than tobacco. The plant is not now so much cultivated as formerly, being superseded by the more pleasant tobacco of the Whites; but the species is still preserved. It is only on solemn occasions, for instance, in negotiations for peace, that this tobacco is still smoked; the seed is, therefore, preserved in the medicine bag of the nation, that the plant may never be lost. When they mean to smoke this tobacco, a small quantity of fat is rubbed on it. [278]

The cultivation of the maize and other fields, of which each family prepares three, four, or five acres, takes place in the month of May. Rows of small furrows are made, into which the grains of maize are thrown singly, and covered with earth. Three times in the summer the plants are hoed, and the earth heaped up against them, that the moisture may have better access to them. The harvest takes place in October, when men, women, and children, each lend a helping hand. At present the women use, in their field labour, a broad iron hoe, with a crooked wooden handle, which they obtain from the merchants. Charbonneau recollected the time when they used the shoulder blade of the buffalo for this purpose. The fields are never fenced, but lie quite open and exposed.

The wild plants of the prairie are used by the Mandans, and other people of the Upper Missouri; and to those before-mentioned, I can only add the feverolles *(Faba minor equina)*, a fruit resembling the bean, which is said to grow in the ground, but which I did not see; there are many other roots in the prairie, which are used for food. The gourds are eaten fresh as well as dry. The beans are seldom eaten of one kind, but many sorts are mixed together. The maize is boiled or roasted, then pounded, mixed with fat, and made up into small cakes and baked. There are, of course, many other ways of dressing it. The sweet maize has a very pleasant taste, especially when it is in what is called the milky state; it is then boiled, dried, and laid by for use.

All kinds of animals serve the Mandans for food; the bear, when it is young and fat, the wolf, the fox, in short, everything except the horse; the ermine is not eaten by many; and of birds they dislike the turkey-buzzard, and the raven, because they feed on the dead bodies deposited on the stages. They have a great aversion from serpents, but eat the turtle; the buffalo is the chief object of their chase, as it supplies them with skins, meat, tallow, marrow-bones, sinews, and many other necessaries. Next to the buffalo the beaver is the most indispensable to them, since it not only furnishes them with valuable skins, but supplies them with delicate food, the fat tail, especially, being considered quite a dainty morsel by the Indians. Pemmican,

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778 281 [435] nose, hoofs, and tail. The value of ten to fifteen horses is given for it. A certain Mandan gave ten horses, a gun, some kettles, and other articles, for such a hide. The white hide of a bull or of an old cow is by no means so valuable. The white hide of a young cow suffices for all the daughters of a family. They do not wear it as a robe, like the Manitaries, or, at the utmost, the wife, or one of the daughters of the family, wears it once at some great festival, but never a second time. The Mandans have particular ceremonies at the dedication of the hide. As soon as they 796 have obtained it they engage an eminent medicine man, who must throw it over him; he then walks round the village in the apparent direction of the sun's course, and sings a medicine song. When the owner, after collecting articles of value for three or four years, desires to offer his treasure to the lord of life, or to the first man, he rolls it up, after adding some wormwood or a head of maize, and the skin then remains suspended on a high pole till it rots away. At the time of my visit there was such an offering at Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, near the stages for the dead without the village. Sometimes, when the ceremony of dedication is finished, the hide is cut into small strips, and the members of the family wear parts of it tied over the head, or across the forehead, when they are in full dress. If a Mandan kills a young white buffalo cow, it is 554 224 accounted to him as more than an exploit, or having killed an enemy. He does not cut up the animal himself, but employs another man, to whom he gives a horse for his trouble. He alone who has killed such an animal is allowed to wear a narrow strip of the skin in his ears. The whole robe is not ornamented, being esteemed superior to any other dress, however fine. The [435] traders have, sometimes, sold such hides to the Indians, who gave them as many as sixty other [136] robes in exchange. Buffalo skins with white spots are likewise highly valued by the Mandans; but there is a race of these animals with very soft silky hair, which has a beautiful gold lustre when in the sunshine: these are, likewise, highly prized, and sold for ten or fifteen dollars, and, 778 sometimes, for the value of a horse. Besides the white buffalo skins which are offered in sacrifice and hung on poles, there are, in the vicinity of the villages of the Mandans and Manitaries, other strange figures on high poles, as represented in Plate XXV. These figures are composed of skin, grass, and twigs, which, it seems, represent the sun and moon, perhaps, also, the lord of life, and the first man. The Indians resort to them when they wish to petition for anything, and sometimes howl and lament for days and weeks together.

796 The Mandans have several medicine festivals, of which the Okippe, or the penitential ceremony of the ark, is by far the most remarkable. It is celebrated in the spring or summer, and I regret to say that I cannot describe it as an eye-witness. I am, however, enabled to give a circumstantial description of it, word for word, as it was communicated to me by men initiated in the mysteries of the nation.*

* The author refers to a letter on this subject, written by Mr. Catlin, and published in a New York paper; but this is by no means so complete as that given in his valuable work published last year.—*Translator's Note.*

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778 Many instruments used by the Whites, especially mathematical, are a great medicine, or charm, in their eyes, because they do not comprehend the use of them. Thus, the Indian women were frequently embarrassed when we looked at them through a telescope, because they believed that we had the power of penetrating their inmost thoughts, and of discovering their past and future actions.

805 The division of time, especially that of the year into months, is pretty conformable to nature; they count the years by winters, and say so many winters have passed since such an event. They are able to reckon the winters either by numbers, or on their fingers, for their numerals are very complete.

1. The month of the seven cold days, answering to our January.
2. The pairing month—February.
3. The month of weak eyes—March.
4. The month of game. Some call it the month of the wild geese. It is likewise often called the month of the breaking-up of the ice.
5. The month in which maize is sown, or the month of flowers—May.
6. The month of ripe service berries.
7. The month of ripe cherries.
8. The month of ripe plums.
9. The month of ripe maize.
10. The month of the falling leaves.
11. The month in which the rivers freeze.
12. The month of slight frost.

Here and there other names are given to the months, but the above are the most common.

461 224 The chief occupations of the Indians, besides adorning and painting their persons, looking in the glass, smoking, eating, and sleeping, are the chase and war, and these fill up a great part of their time. The principal beast of chase is the buffalo, or, rather, the buffalo cow. The men generally go hunting in a body, on horseback, in order to be the more secure against a superior 492 force of their enemies. The equipments of their horses are much like those of the Blackfeet, and their saddle resembles the Hungarian; though, now, they sometimes obtain saddles from the Whites, which they line and ornament with red and blue cloth. In riding, they never leave hold of their whip, the handle of which is made of wood, and not of elk's horn, as among the more western nations. They never wear spurs. In the summer time, if the herds of buffaloes are dispersed to great distances in the prairie, the chase, of course, requires more time and exertion; but 224 in winter, when they approach the Missouri, and seek shelter in the woods, a great number are

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often killed in a short time. Plate XXXI. gives a clear idea of this chase. On these hunting excursions the Indians often spend eight or ten days; generally they return on foot, while the horses are laden with the spoil. The buffaloes are usually shot with arrows, the hunters riding within ten or twelve paces of them. If it is very cold, and the buffaloes keep at a distance in the prairie (which happened in the winter of 1833-34), they hunt but little, and would rather suffer hunger, or live only on maize and beans, than use any exertion; and when, towards spring, many drowned buffaloes float down the river with the ice, the Indians swim or leap with great dexterity over the flakes of ice, draw the animals to land, and eat the half putrid flesh, without manifesting any signs of disgust. It is remarkable how instantly their famished dogs know and take advantage of the hunting excursions of their masters. When the horses return laden with the spoils of the chase, the children in the village utter a cry of joy, of which the dogs seem perfectly to understand the import, for they simultaneously set up a loud howl, run towards the prairie, the scene of the chase, and partake, with their relations, the wolves, what the hunters have left behind. When a hunter has killed an animal, he generally eats the liver, the kidneys, and the marrow of the large thigh bones, raw. If an Indian has procured some game he usually shares it with others. The entrails and skin always belong to the person who shot the animal. If an eminent man, who has performed some exploit, comes up when the animal has been just killed, and demands the tongue, or some other good part, it cannot be refused him. Dogs are not employed in hunting by the Mandans and Manitaries. They shoot deer and elks in the forests, antelopes and bighorns in the prairies, the Black Hills, and the neighbouring mountains. They make parks, as they are called, to catch antelopes, but not buffaloes. Brackenridge says, that the Indians drive the antelopes into the water and kill them with clubs; but this can only have happened in isolated cases, when some accident gave them the opportunity. The Manitaries make these cabri parks more frequently than the Mandans. They choose a valley, between two hills, which ends in a steep declivity. On the summit of the hills, two converging lines, one or two miles in length, are marked out with brushwood. Below the declivity they erect a kind of fence, fifteen or twenty paces in length, composed of poles, covered and filled up with hay and brushwood. A number of horsemen then drive the cabris between the ends of the lines marked out by the brushwood, which are very distant from each other, and ride rapidly towards them. The terrified animals hasten down the hollow, and at length leap into the enclosure, where they are killed with clubs, or taken alive. There are not many bears in this country; and the Indians are not fond of hunting them, because it is often dangerous, and the flesh, when roasted, is not very good. Brackenridge is mistaken when he says, that these Indians always shout before they enter the forest, in order to frighten the bears. If they did so they would, at the same time, frighten all other kinds of animals, and we see at once, from this statement, that that traveller was no sportsman.

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224 The wolf and the fox are sometimes shot with a gun, as well as the white hare, in the winter time, or they are caught in traps. They set for the wolves very strong traps. The prairie wolf is not easily caught, being very cautious. Foxes are caught in small traps, which are covered with brushwood and buffaloes' skulls, to conceal them. Many such traps are seen everywhere in the prairies, which are surrounded with small stakes, that the animals may not enter them sideways. Beavers are now caught, in great numbers, in iron traps, which they procure from the Whites. Small animals, such as the ermine, are caught with horsehair springes, set before their burrows. The manner in which birds of prey are caught is said to be very remarkable. 223 The birdcatcher lies down at full length in a narrow pit made on purpose, and exactly large enough to hold him. As soon as he has lain down, the pit is covered with brushwood and hay, pieces of meat are laid upon it, and a crow, or some such bird, fastened to it. The eagle, or other bird of prey, is said to descend, and to sit down, in order to eat, on which the birdcatcher seizes it by the legs. I would not believe this had not men worthy of credit given me their word for it. In this manner they catch the eagle, called, by the English, the war-eagle, and the golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*), the Quihou, or *oiseau de medicine*, of the Canadians, which I was not so fortunate as to meet with, and which they highly value, as I have already stated.

721 Next to the chase, war is the chief employment of the Indians, and military glory the highest object of their ambition. It is well known that Indian bravery is very different from that of the Whites; for wilfully to expose themselves to the enemy's fire would, in their eyes, not be bravery, but folly. Cunning and stratagem give them the advantage over the enemy; their strength lies in concealing their march, and surprises at daybreak. He who kills many enemies without sustaining any loss is the best warrior.

721 When a young man desires to establish his reputation in the field, he fasts for four or seven days, as long as his strength permits him, goes alone to the hills, complains and cries to 787 the lord of life, calls incessantly to the higher powers for their aid, and only goes home, sometimes, in the evening, to sleep. 555 A dream suggests his medicine to him. If the lord of life makes him dream of a piece of cherry-tree wood, or of an animal, it is a good omen. The young men who take the field with him have then confidence in his medicine. If he can perform an exploit his reputation is established. But whatever exploits he may perform, he acquires no respect if he does not make valuable presents; and they say of him, "He has indeed performed many exploits, but yet he is as much to be pitied as those whom he has killed." A man may have performed many exploits, and yet not be allowed to wear tufts of hair on his clothes, unless he carries a medicine pipe, and has been the leader of a war party. When a young man, who has never performed an exploit, is the first to kill an enemy on a warlike expedition, he 721 paints a spiral line round his arm, of whatever colour he pleases, and he may then wear a 555 whole wolf's tail at the ankle or heel of one foot. If he has first killed and touched the

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past been peculiarly engrossed, and my senses almost confounded with the stamping, and grunting, and bellowing of the *buffalo dance*, which closed a few days since at sunrise (thank Heaven), and which I must needs describe to you. 535

Buffaloes, it is known, are a sort of roaming creatures, congregating occasionally in huge masses, and strolling away about the country from east to west, or from north to south, or just where their whims or strange fancies may lead them; and the Mandans are sometimes, by this means, most unceremoniously left without any thing to eat; and being a small tribe, and unwilling to risk their lives by going far from home in the face of their more powerful enemies, are oftentimes left almost in a state of starvation. In any emergency of this kind, every man musters and brings out of his lodge his mask (the skin of a buffalo's head with the horns on), which he is obliged to keep in readiness for this occasion; and then commences the buffalo dance, of which I have above spoken, which is held for the purpose of making "buffalo come" (as they term it), of inducing the buffalo herds to change the direction of their wanderings, and bend their course towards the Mandan village, and graze about on the beautiful hills and bluffs in its vicinity, where the Mandans can shoot them down and cook them as they want them for food.

For the most part of the year, the young warriors and hunters, by riding out a mile or two from the village, can kill meat in abundance; and sometimes large herds of these animals may be seen grazing in full view of the village. There are other seasons also when the young men have ranged about the country as far as they are willing to risk their lives, on account of their enemies, without finding meat. This sad intelligence is brought back to the chiefs and doctors, who sit in solemn council, and consult on the most expedient measures to be taken, until they are sure to decide upon the old and only expedient which "never has failed." 535 224

The chief issues his order to his runners or criers, who proclaim it through the village—and in a few minutes the dance begins. The place where this strange operation is carried on is in the public area in the centre of the village, and in front of the great medicine or mystery lodge. About ten or fifteen Mandans at a time join in the dance, each one with the skin of the buffalo's head (or mask) with the horns on, placed over his head, and in his hand his favourite bow or lance, with which he is used to slay the buffalo. 535

I mentioned that this dance always had the desired effect, that it never fails, nor can it, for it cannot be stopped (but is going incessantly day and night) until "buffalo come." Drums are beating and rattles are shaken, and songs and yells incessantly are shouted, and lookers-on stand ready with masks on their heads, and weapons in hand, to take the place of each one as he becomes fatigued, and jumps out of the ring.

During this time of general excitement, spies or "*lookers*" are kept on the

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535 hills in the neighbourhood of the village, who, when they discover buffaloes in sight, give the appropriate signal, by "throwing their robes," which is instantly seen in the village, and understood by the whole tribe. At this joyful intelligence there is a shout of thanks to the Great Spirit, and more especially to the mystery-man, and the dancers, who *have been the immediate cause of their success!* There is then a brisk preparation for the chase—a grand hunt takes place. The choicest pieces of the victims are sacrificed to the Great Spirit, and then a surfeit and a carouse.

These dances have sometimes been continued in this village two and three weeks without stopping an instant, until the joyful moment when buffaloes made their appearance. So they *never fail*; and they think they have been the means of bringing them in.

Every man in the Mandan village (as I have before said) is obliged by a village regulation, to keep the mask of the buffalo, hanging on a post at the head of his bed, which he can use on his head whenever he is called upon by the chiefs, to dance for the coming of buffaloes. The mask is put over the head, and generally has a strip of the skin hanging to it, of the whole length of the animal, with the tail attached to it, which, passing down over the back of the dancer, is dragging on the ground (PLATE 56). When one becomes fatigued of the exercise, he signifies it by bending quite forward, and sinking his body towards the ground; when another draws a bow upon him and hits him with a blunt arrow, and he falls like a buffalo—is seized by the bye-standers, who drag him out of the ring by the heels, brandishing their knives about him; and having gone through the motions of skinning and cutting him up, they let him off, and his place is at once supplied by another, who dances into the ring with his mask on; and by this taking of places, the scene is easily kept up night and day, until the desired effect has been produced, that of "making buffalo come."

The day before yesterday however, readers, which, though it commenced in joy and thanksgiving to the Great Spirit for the signal success which had attended their several days of dancing and supplication, ended in a calamity which threw the village of the Mandans into mourning and repentant tears, and that at a time of scarcity and great distress. The signal was given into the village on that morning from the top of a distant bluff, that a band of buffaloes were in sight, though at a considerable distance off, and every heart beat with joy, and every eye watered and glistened with gladness.

224 The dance had lasted some three or four days, and now, instead of the doleful tap of the drum and the begging chaunts of the dancers, the stamping of horses was heard as they were led and galloped through the village—young men were throwing off their robes and their shirts,—were seen snatching a handful of arrows from their quivers, and stringing their sinewy bows, glancing their eyes and their smiles at their sweethearts, and mounting their ponies.

* * * * * A few minutes there had been of bustle and

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224 boasting, whilst bows were twanging and spears were polishing by running their blades into the ground—every face and every eye was filled with joy and gladness—horses were pawing and snuffing in fury for the outset, when Louison Frénié, an interpreter of the Fur Company, galloped through the village with his rifle in his hand and his powder-horn at his side; his head and waist were bandaged with handkerchiefs, and his shirt sleeves rolled up to his shoulders—the hunter's yell issued from his lips and was repeated through the village; he flew to the bluffs, and behind him and over the graceful swells of the prairie, galloped the emulous youths, whose hearts were beating high and quick for the onset.

261 In the village, where hunger had reigned, and starvation was almost ready to look them in the face, all was instantly turned to joy and gladness. The chiefs and doctors who had been for some days dealing out minimum rations to the community from the public crib, now spread before their subjects the contents of their own private *caches*, and the last of every thing that could be mustered, that they might eat a thanksgiving to the Great Spirit for his goodness in sending them a supply of buffalo meat. A general carouse of banqueting ensued, which occupied the greater part of the day; and their hidden stores which might have fed an emergency for several weeks, were pretty nearly used up on the occasion—bones were half picked, and dishes half emptied and then handed to the dogs. *I* was not forgotten neither, in the general surfeit; several large and generous wooden bowls of pemican and other palatable food were sent to my painting-room, and I received them in this time of scarcity with great pleasure.

721 After this general indulgence was over, and the dogs had licked the dishes, their usual games and amusements ensued—and hilarity and mirth, and joy took possession of, and reigned in, every nook and corner of the village; and in the midst of this, screams and shrieks were heard! and echoed everywhere. Women and children scrambled to the tops of their wigwams, with their eyes and their hands stretched in agonizing earnestness to the prairie, whilst blackened warriors ran furiously through every winding maze of the village, and issuing their jarring gutturals of vengeance, as they snatched their deadly weapons from their lodges, and struck the reddened post as they furiously passed it by! Two of their hunters were bending their course down the sides of the bluff towards the village, and another broke suddenly out of a deep ravine, and yet another was seen dashing over and down the green hills, and all were goading on their horses at full speed! and then came another, and another, and all entered the village amid shouts and groans of the villagers who crowded around them; the story was told in their looks, for one was bleeding, and the blood that flowed from his naked breast had crimsoned his milk white steed as it had dripped over him; another grasped in his left hand a scalp that was reeking in blood—and in the other his whip—another grasped nothing, save the reins in one hand and the mane of the horse in the other, having thrown his bow and his arrows

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of them to get as many as eight arrows up before the first one reaches the ground.

For the successful use of the bow, as it is used through all this region of country on horseback, and that invariably at full speed, the great object of practice is to enable the bowman to draw the bow with suddenness and instant effect; and also to repeat the shots in the most rapid manner. As their game is killed from their horses' backs while at the swiftest rate—and their enemies fought in the same way; and as the horse is the swiftest animal of the prairie, and always able to bring his rider alongside, within a few paces of his victim; it will easily be seen that the Indian has little use in throwing his arrow more than a few paces; when he leans quite low on his horse's side, and drives it with astonishing force, capable of producing instant death to the buffalo, or any other animal in the country. The bows which are generally in use in these regions I have described in a former Letter, and the effects produced by them at the distance of a few paces is almost beyond relief, considering their length, which is not often over three,—and sometimes not exceeding two and a half feet. It can easily be seen, from what has been said, that the Indian has little use or object in throwing the arrow to any great distance. And as it is very seldom that they can be seen shooting at a target, I doubt very much whether their skill in such practice would compare with that attained to in many parts of the civilized world; but with the same weapon, and dashing forward at fullest speed on the wild horse, without the use of the rein, when the shot is required to be made with the most instantaneous effect, I scarcely think it possible that any people can be found more skilled, and capable of producing more deadly effects with the bow.

The horses which the Indians ride in this country are invariably the wild horses, which are found in great numbers on the prairies; and have, unquestionably, strayed from the Mexican borders, into which they were introduced by the Spanish invaders of that country; and now range and subsist themselves, in winter and summer, over the vast plains of prairie that stretch from the Mexican frontiers to Lake Winnipeg on the North, a distance of 3000 miles. These horses are all of small stature, of the pony order; but a very hardy and tough animal, being able to perform for the Indians a continual and essential service. They are taken with the *laso*, which is a long halter or thong, made of raw-hide, of some fifteen or twenty yards in length, and which the Indians throw with great dexterity; with a noose at one end of it, which drops over the head of the animal they wish to catch, whilst running at full speed—when the Indian dismounts from his own horse, and holding to the end of the laso, choaks the animal down, and afterwards tames and converts him to his own use.

Scarcely a man in these regions is to be found, who is not the owner of one or more of these horses; and in many instances of eight, ten, or even twenty, which he values as his own personal property.

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preter with them. They did not appear well pleased, and looked on the Pawnees with an eye of disdain. After some conversation they desired the Pawnees to return immediately to their own villages, and to inform their great war chief, Red Tail, that if he sincerely wished for peace, he must come up and then they would settle matters, as they were determined to have nothing to do with young men. They allowed two moons to consider upon the business, and perform the journey. If, at the end of that time, the Chief did not make his appearance, they would immediately gather up their corn, and in a body, go and find him out, in his own village, and convince him what Big Bellies (or as they call themselves Willow Indians), and Mandans could do when exasperated by the treacherous conduct of the Pawnees.

The six embassies promised to depart early next morning to inform their Chief, who they answer no doubt, would very soon wait upon them. Thus ended an affair, which at the commencement we supposed would conclude with the death of the strangers, by the great bustle and noise their arrival occasioned.

But I was afterwards informed that of such proceedings there was not the least danger; that the natives of this place make it a particular point of honor to protect every stranger who throws himself upon them and begs their clemency. Even their natural and most inveterate enimies, the Sioux, have been known to come into their villages unexpectedly, and were always received with hospitality, and well entertained during thei stay which by the way, they never permit to be more than one night when they are dismissed, and allowed to return to their own homes unmolested.

A HUNTING PARTY.

Towards the evening there was a whooping and howling among the young men who were standing upon their huts. This, it seems, was to announce the appearance of a hunting party of the Mandans, who were just at that moment appearing upon the tops of the high bank to the south, and descending by a well-beaten road towards the village. The party consisted of about one hundred men on horseback, and each loaded with half a buffalo; some of them had even more, according to the strength of their horses, and the master will always ride, be his beast ever so loaded. They had been away since yesterday and found buffalo in great abundance near at hand. These people never go out hunting unless in large parties. The continual danger from their enemies obliges them to be very cautious; another reason is, that when the buffalo comes near at hand, they are anxious to prevent them from being driven away. For this purpose, it is customary for them all, in a body, to surround one herd only, which sometimes consists of several hundreds.

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224 Not one do they allow to escape, large and small, fat and lean, all must fall to prevent their alarming other herds.

The manner of hunting the buffalo answers another good purpose, which is that the bad and dull horses have an equal share with the best racers.

DIVISION OF THE BUFFALO HUNT.

[141] They never make use of fire arms in hunting the buffalo. The bow and arrow is the only weapon. When a hunting excursion is in agitation among the Mandans, they inform their neighbors on the north shore, and the Saulteurs (Fall Indians.) The Big Bellies have their own parties and seldom interfere with the others. They never go in the same direction, the one goes to the northeast, and the others to the southwest. The [131] Knife River, indeed, seems to be the boundary line. The day is fixed for their departure, when early in the morning as many as are inclined to be of the party assemble upon the rising grounds in the rear of the village, about one and a half miles to the south. When all are ready they proceed in one body to find out the buffalo, and seldom or never return light. I observed that on their arrival, an extraordinary custom prevailed among them — the horses are instantly unloaded and the meat taken into the huts, where it is spread out upon the ground and exposed for some time before the master or mistress of the hut makes use of it. Soon after it is arrived, the women whose husbands or sons have been hunting, enter the huts of those who have meat, when the mistress instantly gives them a share, and they walk away with it, so that it often happens that there remains not a mouthful for her own family. When this is the case, she, in her turn, goes to the huts of some of her friends who have been hunting and comes away with a load. I observed that in several huts of those who had not been hunting, there was more meat than in those who had been out. It is also customary for the old men and the old women, who have no sons, nor particular friends, to march out on the first news of the hunters' approach, to the distance of a mile or more, where they sit by the road, and almost every hunter in passing drops them a piece of meat. By these means every individual has a share of what has been killed.

431 224

VILLAGES LIKE MOLE HILLS.

361 These villages at a distance have the appearance of a cluster of mole hills, or musk rat cabins. They are nearly of a circular form. The huts are placed in a very irregular manner, and some so very close to each other, as scarcely to admit of a foot-passenger; others again, at a distance of twenty to thirty feet from each other.

¼ [Henry says southeast.-A.]

Sections from Henry's Journal Not Printed in Neill's Version (page numbers refer to those in the Coues edition of Henry's Journal (1897):

224 [322] We had now a well-beaten path, but were several times in danger of breaking our necks in deep pits which the natives had dug in the path to catch wolves and foxes in winter. Some of them are 10 feet deep, hollowed out to a space about 30 feet in circumference, whilst the entrance is no wider than the foot-path and about five feet in length. Those holes are covered with dry grass at the season when wolves are good, and every morning are found to contain some of those animals. In summer the grass grows strong and high about the mouths, entirely concealing them, until one arrives upon the very brink and is in danger of tumbling in headlong.

491 241 [323] Before we reached the (Mandan) village, we passed through a wood about two miles long. The road was bad, deep with mud and mire, the river having overflowed there lately. Having got through this wood, we came to several plantations of corn, beans, squashes, and sunflowers—the latter, indeed, grow in every direction, without cultivation, at some distance from the fields, where the seed has been carried by the wind; but such are never gathered by the natives, as they are not so good as those that have been properly sown and taken care of.

262 574 [325] This was just to their own palate, as they seldom eat meat until it begins to smell. We were invited into several huts successively and presented with dried meat in a state of corruption, corn and beans, together with parched corn and fresh ears pounded up in a wooden mortar; this last dish we found good.

439 177 They soon asked us to trade, and brought buffalo robes, corn, beans, dried squashes, etc.; but we informed them that we did not come here for that purpose, merely to visit them and see the country. They could not comprehend why we should have come so far out of mere curiosity, and said that all white people who came there did so with a view to trade. They suspected that we had goods which we wished to take over the river to the other villages, and were anxious to prevent it. They plagued us until dark, when they retired disappointed.

[p. 384(A)]